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GREAT DECISIONS '82 OPINION BALLOTS

Final Report on Ballot Tabulation

- The U.S. should open a dialogue with the PLO, regardless of whether it accepts Israel's right to exist.

- Unrest in Central America is foremost a result not of Cuban and other Communist agitation but of continuing poverty and injustice.

- In dealing with Nicaragua, the U.S. should keep relations open and not try to isolate it in the international community.

- In order to fight inflation at home, the government should:
  —cut spending, even if this means reducing government services;
  —restrain military spending;
  —reduce price supports and quotas;
  —keep tight control over the money supply, even if this means a period of high interest rates.

- In order to control worldwide inflation, the U.S. should work with other nations to reduce trade barriers, even if this means hardship for some U.S. industries, and emphasize measures to increase the global supply of food and energy.

- In its economic policy toward Japan, the U.S. should seek a reciprocal lowering of trade barriers.

- Existing environmental regulations should be strengthened.

- The U.S. should abide by the terms the SALT II Treaty as long as the Soviets do, and resume arms control negotiations.

- 44% of those mailing in ballots said they had changed their mind on issues as a result of participating in the Great Decisions program, the highest percentage in the four years this question was asked.

These are some highlights of the views expressed, with many dissents and qualifications, in a nationwide mailing of "Opinion Ballots" by participants in the Foreign Policy Association's annual* Great Decisions *program for 1982.

Ms. Thetis Reavis
205 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
(212) 481-8450

M. Jon Vondracek
1800 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 833-2030

BACKGROUND ON '82 BALLOT REPORT

Each ballot dealt with one of eight current foreign policy topics. Under each topic one or more issues are placed on the ballot, with participants asked to select for each issue the one option, among several offered, which comes closest to their own opinions, or to agree or disagree with each of several options offered.

This year, for the first time, the large number of ballots received made it necessary to sample the returns for tabulation. One of every three ballots cast on the first topic was selected at random, and one of every two ballots cast on each of the other seven topics, for a total of 27,653 ballots tabulated (59,312 cast) by April 30, 1982.

Great Decisions '82 was the 28th in a series conducted by FPA nationwide each year since 1955. In 1976, and again in the five years 1978-82, **Great Decisions** received the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities for its attention to historical and other humanistic values in foreign policy. In February and March 1982, an estimated 150,000 Americans across the nation joined in study and discussion of the topics, while many more heard radio and TV programs and read newspaper articles which focused on the **Great Decisions '82** issues.

Participants in the discussion groups study the pros and cons on each topic in FPA's **Great Decisions** annual publication and other available sources. Typical participants have more education and more exposure to international affairs than the average citizen. Those responding are far more likely than the average citizen to discuss foreign affairs with others and to be asked for their opinion on foreign affairs. Moreover, they are far more inclined than the average citizen to make their views known to public officials.

It should be emphasized that the roughly 5 percent of **Great Decisions** participants who mail in their ballot on any given issue should not be regarded as a representative sample of all discussion group participants, although the tabulated ballots are a representative sample of all those cast.

The main themes emerging from the ballots received on each topic are summarized below. The texts of the eight ballots, with complete figures on the responses tabulated, appear at the end of this report.

Topic 1: AMERICA'S DEFENSE: What Price Security?

For the first time since the question was asked in 1978, the proportion of Americans participating in the Foreign Policy Association's **Great Decisions** program who described U.S. foreign policy during the past year as "too weak" declined sharply. Whereas the percentage of those who said they considered the foreign policy stance of the U.S. government "too weak" rose from 44% in 1978 to 65% in 1980 and 69% in 1981, only 33% endorsed this alternative in 1982, after the first full year of the Reagan Administration. In contrast, the proportion describing U.S. foreign policy as "too tough" rose from 5% in 1981 to 29% in 1982. The remainder—38%—described U.S. foreign policy as "about right," a far larger percentage than in any of the three preceding years in which this question was asked. Significantly enough, however, a large number of respondents—some 17%—did not select any of the three options offered. Additional analyses indicate that these nonrespondents were more likely to take a "dovish" position on the remaining issues on the ballot and to reject the terms in which the question was framed, instead describing U.S. foreign policy during the past year as "too inconsistent."

While the figures above indicate a substantial gain in approval for the Administration's general foreign policy stance, two Reagan military policies appear to be in trouble. On defense spending, only 16% of the respondents thought the U.S. should spend as much over the next five years as President Reagan had asked for in his original request; 32% thought the U.S. should spend more than in the past but less than the President asked for; and 21% wanted to spend less than in the past. And on arms control, only 26% agreed with the Administration that the U.S. should concentrate on an arms buildup before entering new arms control negotiations; 63% favored abiding by the terms of SALT II as long as the Soviets do and resuming arms control negotiations.

On the question of a return to the military draft, only 48% of **Great Decisions** respondents were in favor; 52% were opposed. The results were similar to those in a July 1981 Gallup poll which indicated 48% supported a return to the draft, down from 58% a year earlier

Topic 2: WESTERN EUROPE AND THE U.S.: Frictions Among Friends

By a small margin, participants in the **Great Decisions** discussion program who returned their ballots favored a somewhat reduced role for NATO in U.S. foreign policy considerations. Some 42% advocated seeking expanded cooperation with NATO, whereas 48% argued for cooperating with NATO when interests coincided but accepting the fact that this will not always be the case.

So far as military relations with NATO are concerned, a slim majority (52%) favored continuing the policy of strengthening NATO's defenses, but a sizable minority (30%) advocated threatening to withdraw U.S. forces from Europe unless European members of NATO are prepared to contribute more substantially to their own defense. Almost one fifth of those responding to these questions favored neither of these options, however, writing in a variety of other proposals instead.

With respect to a specific policy option under consideration at the time the discussion groups were held—namely, deploying 572 new U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe—respondents were clearly divided: 47% advocated proceeding with deployment and entering into arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, whereas 39% voted in favor of abandoning the missile plan because of the substantial opposition which had arisen to it in Europe. Again, a sizable minority (15%) agreed with neither of the offered alternatives, writing in a variety of other policy proposals instead.

Topic 3: CENTRAL AMERICA: Fire in the 'front yard'?

Overwhelmingly, respondents blamed continuing poverty and injustice for unrest in Central America: 76% of those who responded ranked this first in order of importance, followed by urbanization and growing political sophistication of the population, then by Cuban and other Communist and leftist agitation, and, finally, American weakness in the region.

Asked to choose among five possible policies toward "a country such as Guatemala, where the government has often been accused of condoning human rights violations, and which faces a challenge from leftist or Communist guerrillas," a large plurality (41%) advocated providing economic aid to the government on condition that it cease human rights abuses. The next largest endorsement, by 26% of the respondents, was for the U.S. to stay out of the area, letting Central Americans determine their own future. A somewhat smaller percentage—15%—opted for providing economic aid with no strings attached. Only 2% declared themselves in favor of covertly trying to undermine the government; more than twice as many (5%) said they would provide unconditional military as well as economic aid; and 11% wrote in some policy alternative other than the five offered.

When confronted with the problem of dealing with leftist "revolutionary" governments such as that of Nicaragua, opinion was almost evenly divided between those who said "Keep relations open but provide no support" (35%) and those who favored keeping relations open and giving economic aid (39%). Only 15% selected the "stay out of the area" option in the case of leftist revolutionary governments; but 3% favored covertly trying to undermine the government, and another 3% favored trying to isolate the country and breaking diplomatic relations. In the case of Nicaragua, only 5% of the respondents volunteered some policy alternative other than the five offered.

Topic 4: THE PALESTINIANS: History, Politics and Conflict

Like other samplings of public opinion, ballots by **Great Decisions** participants suggest a growing impatience with Israel's stance in the Arab-Israeli dispute and increasing sympathy with the Palestinian position. Whereas a year ago almost two thirds of the respondents advocated continuing to work closely with Egypt and Israel to make the Palestinian autonomy negotiations a success, only 43% endorsed this option in 1982. In 1982, 35% advocated abandoning the autonomy talks and pressing for mutual recognition by Israel and the PLO and for a Palestinian state with adequate security guarantees for Israel; in 1981, only 14% had endorsed a similar option, one which did not, however, include explicit mention of security guarantees for Israel in the event a Palestinian state was created.

On a separate issue, which asked whether the U.S. should negotiate with the PLO under any circumstances or only if it accepted Israel's right to exist, 62% of the respondents advocated opening a dialogue regardless of the PLO's stance toward Israel.

Topic 5: PROTECTING WORLD RESOURCES: Is Time Running Out?

Responses to a series of questions concerning hunger and population growth in poor countries show substantial majorities agreeing with the propositions that in populous poor countries, basic human needs should take priority over environmental concerns; and that in time, new technologies will be developed to prevent shortages of resources. By a similar margin (64%), respondents agreed that long-term supplies of food to poor countries encourage population growth, which in turn may lead to future famine. Very few respondents saw high population growth rates as contributing to a country's wealth, and only 40% saw the removal of inequalities between rich and poor nations as solving the problem of inadequate resources for some countries.

There was little agreement among respondents on the best way of dealing with environmental problems in less-developed countries, with responses almost evenly divided among recommendations to provide economic and technical help primarily through international organizations (36%), primarily through bilateral arrangements (27%), or primarily by encouraging self-help among less-developed countries (33%).

With respect to environmental problems in the U.S., however, there was more substantial agreement on policy options: 55% of the respondents said that the U.S. should strengthen existing environmental regulations; only 11% said that the regulations should be relaxed; and less than one percent were in favor of abolishing them altogether. The remaining respondents would keep environmental regulations as they are (2[illegible]) or advocate some "other" option (10%), including selective relaxation of existing regulations.

In 1980, **Great Decisions** participants were asked to rank seven sources of energy in the order in which they thought the U.S. should emphasize them in its long-term energy future. Conservation ranked first, by a large margin, followed by solar energy and then domestic oil and gas. Nuclear energy, synthetic fuels, coal, and, finally, foreign oil and gas all received less than 10% of the nominations for first place. The question was repeated in 1982 and received the identical ranking. However, no doubt reflecting the short-term easing of gas and oil supplies, the nominations of conservation declined significantly from 1982; both solar energy and domestic oil and gas, on the other hand, received somewhat more nominations for first place than they did two years ago.

Topic 6: JAPAN: Stragetic Ally, Economic Rival

By a substantial margin (60%), **Great Decisions** participants who returned their ballots felt that, in its economic relations with Japan, the U.S. should seek reciprocal lowering of trade barriers. Neither of the other options offered—removal of all trade barriers between the two countries, or selective increases in trade barriers to protect U.S. industries—attracted more than 18% of the responses.

So far as Japan's defense commitments are concerned, opinion was divided between those who would use quiet diplomacy to persuade Japan to increase its commitments (44%), and those who would let Japan determine its own commitments (38%). None of the other options offered was endorsed by more than 6% of the respondents.

Topic 7: GLOBAL INFLATION: Is There a Cure?

Responses to a series of options designed to reduce inflation in the U.S. indicate mixed support for the Administration's economic policies: 75% of the respondents, for example, agreed that government spending should be cut, even if this meant reducing government services; an equal percentage said that military spending should be restrained, and 70% said that price supports and quotas should be reduced. By a somewhat smaller margin, respondents urged maintaining tight control over the money supply, even if this resulted in a period of high interest rates. But only about half agreed that taxes should be cut as a spur to savings and investment, and an equal percentage endorsed wage-price guidelines (though only 25% voted in favor of wage-price controls).

Asked about policies designed to counter worldwide inflation, respondents overwhelmingly endorsed working with other countries to reduce trade barriers, even if this caused hardships for some U.S. industries (81%), and an emphasis on measures, including aid to developing countries, which can increase the global supply of food and energy (85%). Only 32% advocated considering measures to end flexible exchange rates, including a return to the gold standard, as a way to reduce global inflation.

Topic 8: POLAND AND THE U.S.S.R.: Troubles in the Workers' Paradise

As on many of the other issues already discussed, opinion on policies toward Poland is divided. (It should be mentioned that this topic and the opinion ballot were written before martial law was imposed in December 1981.) A majority—55%—believed the U.S. should continue financial aid to Poland and work with its allies to ease Poland's economic crisis. But a substantial minority—33%—advocated discontinuing economic and food aid to Poland in order to force the Soviet Union to bear the cost of sustaining Poland's economy, and an additional 12% urged a variety of other options.

In the light of a possible invasion of Poland, which seemed more likely at the time the **Great Decisions** ballots were drafted than it does today, 43% of those responding felt that the U.S. should make clear to the U.S.S.R. that reprisals would follow such an invasion. But about 20% of those responding selected one or the other of two alternative options offered—conceding that Poland legitimately fell in the Soviet sphere of influence, on the one hand, or encouraging labor discontent in the Soviet bloc, even at the risk of prompting a Soviet invasion, on the other. As with many of the other issues, a substantial proportion of the respondents wrote in a variety of other proposals, often some combination of those above.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

Those who filled out opinion ballots were asked to give some information about themselves.

As is generally true of members of voluntary organizations, participants in the program are older, on the average, than the U.S. population, and better educated. Not quite one third of those responding were 45 or younger, and half were 61 or older. All but 11% had some college education, and 63% had a baccalaureate or an advanced degree. Women outnumbered men, 62% to 38%. A very high percentage of the group qualify as foreign policy "opinion leaders" in the sense that they say they are asked for their opinion on foreign policy matters often (17%) or sometimes (48%).

In only one respect does the distribution of characteristics show a significant shift from the preceding year. In 1981, only 38 percent of the participants said they had changed their opinion in a fairly significant way as a result of participating in the program, compared with 44% in 1982. Conversely, 36% reported no opinion change in 1981, compared with only 31% in 1982.

Because participants were asked to indicate the first three digits of their zip code on each ballot, it is possible to tell what states contributed most heavily to the tabulated results. The greatest number of ballots were received from Oregon, California, Ohio, Florida, Illinois, Arizona, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania and Colorado, in that order. Unfortunately, zip code information was missing from 12% of the tabulated ballots.

	Percent
A. How many years have you participated in the **GREAT DECISIONS** *program (that is, attended one or more discussion sessions)?*	
1. This is the first year I have participated.	45
2. I participated in one previous year.	18
3. I participated in more than one previous year.	37
B. What is your age?	
1. 30 or under	19
2. 31 to 45	13
3. 46 to 60	18
4. 61 or over	50
**C. Your sex?*	
1. Female	62
2. Male	38
D. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?	
1. Some high school	4
2. High school graduate	7
3. Some college	26
4. College graduate	32
5. Advanced degree	31
E. How often are you asked for your opinion on foreign policy matters?	
1. Often	17
2. Sometimes	48
3. Hardly ever	35
***F. One final question. Would you say you have or have not changed your opinion in a fairly significant way as a result of taking part in the* **GREAT DECISIONS** *program?*	
1. Have	44
2. Have not	31
3. Uncertain	25

*7% nonresponse.
**8% nonresponse.

The Foreign Policy Association has carried out this national tabulation of opinion ballots as a public service. The results express the views of* Great Decisions *participants, not those of the FPA, which is a private, nonprofit, nonpartisan educational organization and takes no position on issues of U.S. foreign policy.

Opinion ballots have been included in FPA's annual **Great Decisions** since 1955, as a way to encourage participants to make their foreign policy views known to their Washington representatives and to the news media. Since 1976, opinion ballots from across the nation have been centrally collected, tabulated and analyzed, and the results made public by FPA in a special report.

In 1978, processing of the ballots made the transition from hand tabulation to the electronic era. Again this year, computerization of ballots received as of April 30th was performed by Calculogic Corporation, 2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y., which furnished printouts on which this report is based. Opinion ballots received after April 30 are being counted, but unless they alter trends shown in this analysis, a later report will not be issued.

This expression of views by participants in **Great Decisions '82** who have voluntarily taken the time to study and discuss the issues is of special significance to the nation's foreign policy decision-makers. This report is being presented by the Foreign Policy Association to members of Congress and the Executive Branch. It is also being sent to the news media and is available to all interested citizens who wish to receive a copy.

FPA's editors have been assisted in preparing the opinion ballots and in tabulation and analysis of the results, by Dr. Eleanor Singer, noted authority on public opinion sampling.

Copies of this opinion ballot report can be ordered from the Foreign Policy Association. Please see box with information on how to order.

Eleanor Singer served as FPA's consultant in the preparation of the Opinion Ballots for **Great Decisions** '82, in the tabulation and analysis of the results, and in the writing of the present report.

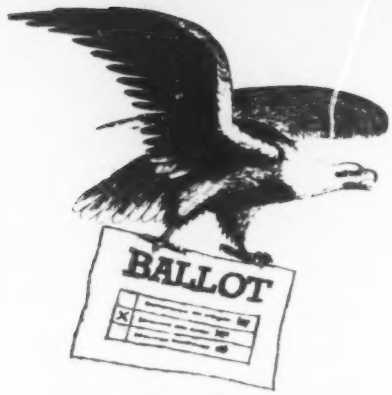
Dr. Singer is a senior research associate at Columbia University's Center for the Social Sciences. She received her doctorate in sociology, also from Columbia University, in 1966. For the past seven years she has been editor of the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, the principal scholarly journal in the field of public opinion research. She has published numerous scholarly articles on public opinion and other sociological topics, and is co-editor with Herbert Hyman of *Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research.*

It is a great pleasure to extend my greetings to the Foreign Policy Association on the occasion of the 28th year of its annual **Great Decisions** discussion program.

Our nation's foreign policy must reflect the values of the American people and have their support. By developing a citizenry that is enlightened and informed about international relations, the Foreign Policy Association performs an invaluable service to our country.

Your record of accomplishment is indeed impressive and is fully appreciated by all those concerned with citizen education. I wish you many more successful and productive years.

Ronald Reagan
March 1, 1982



BALLOT STATISTICS

Topic 1: **AMERICA'S DEFENSE** **BALLOTS TABULATED 4,006**

	Percent
A. With respect to defense spending, the United States should:	
1. Spend as much over the next five years as President Reagan asked for in his original request.	16
2. Spend more than in past but less than President Reagan asked for.	32
3. Spend the same, in real terms, as in the past.	18
4. Spend less than in the past.	21
5. Other (write-in).	13
B. With respect to arms control, the United States should:	
1. Abide by the terms of SALT II as long as the Soviets do and resume arms control negotiations.	63
2. Concentrate on a U.S. arms buildup before entering new arms control negotiations.	26
3. Abandon the arms control process altogether.	3
4. Other (write-in).	9
C. Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time or not?	
1. Yes, we should.	48
2. No, we should not.	52
**D. In conducting our nation's foreign policy during the past year, the U.S. government's attitude, on balance, has been:*	
1. Too tough.	29
2. Too weak.	33
3. About right.	38

**17% nonresponse. Except as noted, nonresponse totals 6% or less.

Topic 2: **WESTERN EUROPE AND THE U.S.** **BALLOTS TABULATED: 2,628**

	Percent
A. In its political relations with the European members of NATO, the United States should:	
1. Seek expanded cooperation, including on issues which are not part of NATO's normal area of responsibility, e.g. the Middle East.	42
2. Accept the fact of alliance differences and continue to cooperate with its allies where interests coincide.	48
3. Reassert U.S. leadership and be prepared to go it alone if the Europeans disagree with U.S. policy.	8
4. Other (write-in).	2
B. In its military relations with the European members of NATO, the United States should:	
1. Continue its policy of strengthening NATO's defenses, counting on Europeans to follow its lead.	52
2. Threaten to withdraw its troops from Europe unless the Europeans contribute more to their own defense.	30
3. Other (write-in).	19
C. With regard to the plan to deploy 572 new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe, the United States should:	
1. Proceed with deployment of the missiles and enter into arms negotiations with the Soviet Union to limit them.	47
2. Abandon the missile plan because of the substantial opposition to it which has arisen in Europe: the political costs now outweigh the military benefits.	39
3. Other (write-in).	15

Topic 3: **CENTRAL AMERICA** **BALLOTS TABULATED 2,995**

	Percent Ranking First*
A. The recent unrest in Central America is a result foremost of:	
1. Continuing poverty and injustice.	76
2. Cuban and other Communist and leftist agitation.	11
3. American weakness in the region.	2
4. Urbanization and growing political sophistication of the population, combined with lack of democracy.	14

*Adds to more than 100 because some gave first rank to more than one option. Nonresponse: 9–17%

B. In its policy toward a country such as Guatemala, where the government has often been accused of condoning human rights violations, and which faces a challenge from leftist or Communist guerrillas, the United States should:	
1. Covertly try to undermine the government.	2
2. Provide economic aid to the government on condition that it cease human rights abuses.	41
3. Provide economic aid without strings.	15
4. Provide unconditional military as well as economic aid.	5
5. Stay out of the area, letting Central Americans determine their own future.	26
6. Other (write-in).	11
C. In dealing with leftist "revolutionary" governments such as that of Nicaragua, the United States should:	
1. Covertly try to undermine the government.	3
2. Cut relations, try to isolate the nation in the international community.	3
3. Keep relations open but provide no support.	35
4. Keep relations open and give economic aid.	39
5. Stay out of the area, letting Central Americans determine their own future.	15
6. Other (write-in).	5

Topic 4: **THE PALESTINIANS** **BALLOTS TABULATED 4,137**

	Percent
A. With regard to the Arab-Israeli dispute, the United States should:	
1. Adopt a low profile, leaving Israel and the Arabs to work matters out for themselves.	12
2. Continue to work closely with Egypt and Israel to make the Palestinian autonomy negotiations a success.	43
3. Abandon the autonomy talks; press for mutual recognition by Israel and the PLO and for a Palestinian state with adequate security guarantees for Israel.	35
4. Press for Israel's return, with proper security guarantees, of the West Bank to King Hussein of Jordan.	6
5. Other (write-in).	4
B. With regard to ties with the PLO, the United States should:	
1. Neither negotiate with nor recognize the PLO until it accepts Israel's right to exist.	38
2. Open a dialogue with the PLO, regardless of whether it accepts Israel's right to exist.	62

Topic 5: **PROTECTING WORLD RESOURCES** **BALLOTS TABULATED: 4,014**

	Percent Agree
A. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement listed.	
a. Long-term supplies of food to poor countries encourage their population growth, which in turn may lead to future famine.	64
b. If inequalities between rich and poor nations were removed, there would be enough resources for an adequate standard of living for all countries.	40
c. Far from being an insoluble problem, high population growth rates contribute to the creation of wealth.	15
d. Human ingenuity will be able to invent new technologies, avoiding feared shortages of resources.	63
e. In a populous poor country, basic human needs should take priority over environmental concerns.	62
B. With respect to environmental problems in less-developed countries, the United States should:	
1. Encourage poor countries to overcome their problems primarily through self-help.	33
2. Provide bilateral economic and technical assistance to poor countries.	27
3. Provide economic and technical assistance to poor countries primarily through international organizations.	36
4. Other (write-in).	4
C. With respect to its own environment, the United States should:	
1. Strengthen existing environmental regulations.	55
2. Keep existing environmental regulations as they are.	24
3. Relax existing environmental regulations.	11
4. Abolish existing environmental regulations.	1
5. Other (write-in).	10

	Percent Ranking First*
D. Rank the following sources of energy in the order in which you think the United States should emphasize them in its long-term energy future:	
a. Domestic oil and gas	16
b. Synthetic fuels	8
c. Nuclear energy	9
d. Solar energy	27
e. Conservation	40
f. Coal	5
g. Foreign oil and gas	1

*Adds to more than 100 because some gave first rank to more than one option.
Nonresponse: 8-12%.

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Topic 6: **JAPAN** **BALLOTS TABULATED 3,565**

	Percent
A. In its economic policy toward Japan, the United States should:	
1. Negotiate the removal of all barriers to trade.	18
2. Seek reciprocal lowering of trade barriers.	60
3. Selectively increase barriers to Japanese imports to protect U.S. industries.	18
4. Other (write-in).	4
B. So far as Japan's defense commitments are concerned, the United States should:	
1. Discourage an increase in Japan's defense commitments.	5
2. Let Japan determine its own defense commitments.	38
3. Persuade Japan to increase its defense commitments by using quiet diplomacy.	44
4. Offer trade concessions to Japan in return for its increasing its defense commitments.	6
5. Threaten to withdraw the nuclear umbrella unless Japan makes greater defense commitments.	6
6. Other (write-in).	2

Topic 7: **GLOBAL INFLATION** **BALLOTS TABULATED 3,220**

	Percent Agree
A. In its fight against inflation, the United States should:	
a. Cut government spending, even if this means reducing government services.	75
b. Maintain tight control over the money supply, even if this results in a period of high interest rates.	63
c. Cut taxes as an incentive to savings and investment.	53
d. Institute wage and price guidelines.	50
e. Institute wage and price controls.	25
f. Restrain military spending.	75
g. Reduce price supports and quotas.	70
B. To counter worldwide inflation, the United States should:	
a. Work with other nations to reduce trade barriers, even if this causes hardship for some U.S. industries faced with foreign competition.	81
b. Emphasize measures, including aid to developing countries, which can increase the global supply of food and energy and ease the upward pressure on prices.	85
c. Consider measures aimed at ending the global system of flexible exchange rates, including a return to the gold standard.	32

Topic 8: **POLAND AND THE U.S.S.R.** **BALLOTS TABULATED 3,088**

	Percent
A. With respect to Poland, the United States should:	
1. Discontinue economic and food aid in order to force the Soviet Union to bear the cost of sustaining Poland's economy.	33
2. Continue financial aid and work with allies to ease Poland's economic crisis.	55
3. Other (write-in).	12
**B. In light of the possibility of a Soviet invasion of Poland, the United States should:*	
1. Concede that Poland legitimately belongs to the Soviet sphere of influence.	21
2. Convey to the U.S.S.R. that the United States would take reprisals in the event of a Soviet invasion.	43
3. Officially support workers' movements and encourage labor discontent in the Soviet bloc even at the risk of prompting a Soviet invasion.	19
4. Other (write-in).	16

*8% nonresponse.
(This topic and the opinion ballot were written before martial law was imposed in December 1981.)